

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

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AMEMBASSY THE HAUGE

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UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 3 PARIS 22736

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SUBJECT INTERVIEW WITH GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTER WALTER SCHEEL
IN LE MONDE

FOLLOWING IS EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF TEXT OF INTERVIEW OF GERMAN
FOREIGN MINISTER WALTER SCHEEL IN AUGUST 25 ISSUE OF LE MONDE.

INTERVIEW WAS CONDUCTED BY MICHEL TATU::

QUESTION: MR MINISTER, WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE STATEMENT
OF FRENCH AGRICULTURAL MINISTER CHIRAC ACCORDING TO WHICH
THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC IS DRAWING AWAY FROM EUROPE?

ANSWER: ONE COULD REPLY TO THIS REPROACH BY A SHRUG OF THE
SHOULDERS. WE ARE NOT GOING TO DO THAT: THE REPROACH
HURTS PRECISELY BECAUSE IT COMES FROM THE MOUTH OF A

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FRENCHMAN; BECAUSE FRANCO-GERMAN FRIENDSHIP WAS AND

CONTINUES TO BE A PILLAR OF THE PROCESS OF EUROPEAN UNIFICATION.

WHAT EUROPE ARE WE TALKING ABOUT? EUROPE IS NOT ONLY THE GREEN EUROPE OF AGRICULTURE OR THE BLACK EUROPE OF COAL AND STEEL. EUROPE IS MORE THAN THE SUM OF THE DIFFERENT ECONOMIC SECTORS. EUROPE IS THAT UNION WHICH ALL OF US TOGETHER SET AS OUR OBJECTIVE AT THE SUMMIT MEETING IN PARIS IN 1972.

THIS OBJECT CAN NEVER BE ATTAINED IF EACH OF THE INTERESTED PARTIES SAYS, "I AM EUROPE." NOR SHALL WE ATTAIN IT ONLY BY MAKING COMPROMISES AMONG THE DIFFERENT NATIONAL INTERESTS OF THE MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. WE SHALL ACHIEVE THE GOAL OF UNION ONLY IF THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE HIGHER INTERESTS OF EUROPE AS A WHOLE INCREASES AND INCREASES IN SUCH A MANNER THAT, IF IT BECOMES NECESSARY, NATIONAL INTERESTS ARE SUBORDINATED TO THE WHOLE.

CAN ONE SERIOUSLY MAINTAIN THAT THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY IS AMONG THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH HANG BACK IN THE NATIONALISTIC REARGUARD ON THE ROAD TO UNION? FOR US IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC, EUROPEAN POLICY IS MORE THAN A SIMPLE ELEMENT OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY. IT IS THE BASIS OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY, IN OUR RELATIONS WITH THIRD COUNTRIES AS WELL.

THUS, WE HAVE CONCEIVED OUR DETENTE POLICY AS PART OF THE POLICY OF WESTERN EUROPE TOWARD EASTERN EUROPE. HOW COULD ONE EXPLAIN OTHERWISE THE APPROVAL EACH OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF WESTERN EUROPE HAS GIVEN THIS POLICY. IN FEBRUARY 1972, PRESIDENT POMPIDOU RIGHTLY SPOKE OF THE "PERFECT IDENTITY OF THE POLICY OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND FRENCH POLICY."

NO, WE ARE NOT PUTTING ON THE BRAKES NOW THAT IT IS A QUESTION OF CARRYING FORWARD THE INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. WE ARE READY TO TRANSFER ADDITIONAL POWERS TO THE COMMUNITY, EVEN GOING BEYOND THE LETTER OF THE TREATY OF ROME, IN ORDER TO CREATE ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION.

THESE ARE NOT EMPTY WORDS. WE HAVE CONTRIBUTED IN A DECISIVE MANNER TO THE BEARING OF THE BURDEN OF FIXED PARITIES IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY, UNCLASSIFIED

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IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF WHAT IS CALLED THE "SNAKE". WE HAVE INSISTED THAT THE COMMUNITY INCREASE ITS ACTIVITIES IN THE FIELD OF SOCIAL POLICY. WE HAVE DECLARED OURSELVES READY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A REGIONAL POLICY WHICH WOULD BE OF BENEFIT PRIMARILY TO OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY. WOULD IT HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE TO HAVE REACHED THE DIFFICULT COMPROMISES IN THE FIELD OF EUROPEAN SPACE TECHNOLOGY WITHOUT THE IMPORT AND

FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION MADE BY US?

WE HAVE ALSO WORKED WITH A DETERMINATION TO INSURE THAT THE COMMUNITY WOULD HAVE A COMMON POSITION TOWARDS THE OUTSIDE WORLD. WE WANT A DIALOGUE OF INTERDEPENDENCE BETWEEN THE COMMUNITY AND THE UNITED STATES. THIS IS A POLITICAL NECESSITY WITHOUT WHICH EUROPE WILL NEVER DISCOVER ITS OWN IDENTITY.

QUESTION: WHAT IS THE ATTITUDE OF YOUR GOVERNMENT TOWARDS THE COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY?

ANSWER: THE COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY IS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE ECONOMIC INTEGRATION OF EUROPE. NOBODY IN OUR COUNTRY WANTS TO CALL IT INTO QUESTION. WE ADHERE FAITHFULLY TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY. WE HAVE OFTEN STATED THIS WITHOUT EQUIVOCATION AND I REPEAT IT AGAIN TODAY. HOWEVER, IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO DISCUSS THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AGRICULTURAL POLICY ON THE BASIS OF EXISTING PRINCIPLES. THIS IS THE COMMON OBJECTIVE OF ALL THE MEMBER STATES. THUS, IT WAS SET FORTH IN THE COMMUNIQUE OF THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE AT THE HAGUE THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS "TO ASSURE BETTER CONTROL OF THE MARKET THROUGH A POLICY OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION MAKING POSSIBLE THE LIMITATION OF BUDGETARY COSTS."

NO ONE WANTS TO CUT BACK THE COMMUNITY'S AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AT ANY PRICE. THE DEVELOPMENT OF FARM INCOMES MUST BE CLOSELY WATCHED. AT THE SAME TIME, WE MUST DEMONSTRATE FLEXIBILITY IN ADAPTING OURSELVES MOVING INTO A PERIOD OF SHORTAGES OF SOFT WHEAT AND BARLEY. AS FOR MILK AND DAIRY PRODUCTS, WE HAVE TO MAKE A GREATER EFFORT TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEM OF SURPLUSES. GENERALLY SPEAKING, WE MUST INSURE THAT THE IMAGE OF THE COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY NOT BE DISCREDITED BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE COMMUNITY BY THE EXCESSIVE COSTS WHICH MUST BE PAID TO

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FINANCE SURPLUSES.

QUESTION: THE AMERICAN PRESS, AS WELL AS GERMAN HAS ATTRIBUTED TO MR. BAHR A PLAN LOOKING TOWARDS ESTABLISHMENT OF A SYSTEM OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY IN EUROPE WHICH WOULDSTONE

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CALL FOR THE DISSOLUTION OF THE ALLIANCES. WHAT IS YOUR VIEW
ON THIS SUBJECT?

ANSWER: THIS WAS A DISCUSSION OF THEORETICAL ALTERNATIVES WHICH
TOOK PLACE AMONG COLLEAGUES IN THE 60'S AT A TIME WHEN
MR. BAHR WAS CHIEF OF PLANNING IN THE FEDERAL MINISTRY OF
FOREIGN AFFAIRS. PEOPLE HAVE MADE A MOUNTAIN OUT OF A
MOLEHILL BY ACTING AS IF THIS WAS AN ACTUAL PLAN.
THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE IS AND NATURALLY CONTINUES TO BE
THE BASE OF OUR SECURITY. IF NOT WOULD WE MAKE SUCH
GREAT MILITARY AND FINANCIAL EFFORTS SUCH AS THE EFFORTS WE
ARE MAKING IN NATO'S EUROGROUP? ANY OTHER POLICY
SEEMS TO ME QUITE SIMPLY SUICIDAL.

QUESTION: THE FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVE OF THE POLICY OF THE
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO BE THE MAINTENANCE OF
GERMAN UNITY AND IN THE LONG RUN THE UNIFICATION OF
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GERMANY. IF GERMANY HAD TO CHOOSE BETWEEN ITS
UNIFICATION, AUTHORIZED BY THE SOVIET UNION IN EXCHANGE
FOR ITS NEUTRALIZATION, AND THE PURSUIT OF EUROPEAN
UNIFICATION, WHAT IN YOUR OPINION WOULD BE ITS DECISION?

ANSWER: THE ALTERNATIVE POSED IN THIS QUESTION HAS NO BASIS IN THE POLITICAL REALITY OF OUR TIMES. WE SEEK THE UNIFICATION OF THE TWO PARTS OF GERMANY ON THE BASIS OF SELF-DETERMINATION. UNIFICATION ON THIS BASIS WOULD BRING ABOUT AN IMPRESSIVE EXTENSION OF LIBERTY. UNIFICATION BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF LIBERTY WOULD, IN NO WAY, BE IN OPPOSITION TO THE PROCESS OF EUROPEAN UNIFICATION.

IN POLITICAL REALITY, THE REALIZATION OF THE UNITY OF GERMANY IS NOT CONCEIVABLE AS AN INDEPENDENT NATIONAL EVENT, BUT ONLY AS A PART OF A EUROPEAN PROCESS. THAT IS WHY I INFORMED MR. GROMYKO, THE SOVIET MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, IN THE LETTER WHICH I SENT HIM ON THE OCCASION OF THE SIGNING OF THE TREATY OF MOSCOW, THAT THE OBJECTIVE OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY CONTINUES TO BE "TO WORK FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A STATE OF PEACE IN EUROPE IN WHICH THE GERMAN PEOPLE WILL RECOVER ITS UNITY IN COMPLETE FREEDOM OF ACTION."

QUESTION: IT IS SOMETIMES SAID THAT ONLY A BOLD INITIATIVE, PARTICULARLY IN THE AREA OF EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS, IS CAPABLE OF RELAUNCHING OR EVEN SALVAGING THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE COMMUNITY. WHAT DO YOU THINK?

ANSWER: SEVERAL TIMES WE HAVE MADE PROPOSALS DESIGNED TO ACHIEVE PROGRESS ON THE ROAD TO UNION. I REMIND YOU OF OUR SUGGESTION FOR CREATION OF A POLITICAL SECRETARIAT, OR OUR SUGGESTION FOR STRENGTHENING THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. WE WILL ALWAYS GO ALONG IF IT APPEARS THAT BY A BOLD LEAP WE CAN JUMP OVER NATIONAL BARRIERS. IN THIS REGARD, ONE SHOULD CONSIDER THE FOLLOWING: IN THE PAST WE HAVE SEEN THAT ECONOMIC UNIONS AND CUSTOMS UNIONS DO NOT NECESSARILY LEAD TO POLITICAL UNIONS. WE HAVE HAD THE SAME EXPERIENCE WITH THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY IN BRUSSELS. THIS IS THE LESSON OF THE 1960'S WE MUST NOW ASK OURSELVES THE FOLLOWING QUESTION: IS IT WISE TO MAKE THE CREATION OF EUROPEAN UNION DEPENDENT ON THE MEETING OF CERTAIN DEADLINES IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD. IS THE FOLLOWING CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER MANDATORY: FIRST, THE UNCLASSIFIED

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ACHIEVEMENT OF ECONOMIC INTEGRATION, THEN THE MEETING OF THE DEADLINES FOR ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION, AND THEN AT THE END, POLITICAL UNION? THAT WE NEED IS THE STIMULI OF A COMMON POLICY. BY TREATING PARTICULAR PROBLEMS IN THE LIMITED PERSPECTIVE OF THE EXPERTS, WE RISK LOSING OUR DYNAMISM. THAT IS WHY EACH TIME THE INITIATIVE MUST COME FROM THE POLITICAL LEVEL. IT MIGHT PERHAPS BE GOOD TO STUDY THIS IDEA MORE INTENSELY IN THE NEAR FUTURE. IN THIS MANNER WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO CREATE A NEW IMPETUS IN OUR EFFORTS TO UNIFY EUROPE

QUESTION: DO YOU BELIEVE THAT DIVERGENT VIEWS REGARDING
RELATIONS OF THE COMMUNITY WITH THE UNITED STATES ARE THE
PRINCIPAL OBSTACLES TO PROGRESS TOWARDS EUROPEAN UNITY?
ANSWER: NO, EUROPE IS NOT ALONE IN THE WORLD. BEING THE
MOST IMPORTANT TRADING ENTITY IN THE WORLD AND GIVEN ITS
SECURITY REQUIREMENTS, IT IS MORE AND MORE OBLIGED TO
INSURE THAT ITS EXTERNAL RELATIONS ARE CONDUCTED AS THOSE
OF A SINGLE ENTITY. RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED
STATES WHICH IS THE GUARANTOR OF EUROPEAN SECURITY,
EUROPE'S MOST IMPORTANT TRADING PARTNER, AND CULTURALLY
THE COUNTRY MOST CLOSELY RELATED TO EUROPE, ARE IN THIS
PERSPECTIVE THE MOST IMPORTANT POINT OF DEPARTURE.
THAT DIVERGENCES OF VIEW ON THE PROPER ORGANIZATION OF
THE DIALOGUE EXIST SHOULD NOT CONSTITUTE AN OBSTACLE TO
EUROPEAN UNIFICATION; ON THE CONTRARY, THE NECESSITY OF
THE DIALOGUE FORCES EUROPE TO DEAL WITH THE POLITICAL
REALITY IN WHICH IT LIVES, TO REACH CONCLUSIONS ON AN
IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN ITS EXTERNAL RELATIONS. IN A WORD,
TO COME TO A COMMON UNDERSTANDING. ANY OTHER ATTITUDE
WOULD BE A FLIGHT FROM REALITY. SUCH A FLIGHT WOULD NOT
LEAD TO THE UNITY OF EUROPE; IT WOULD TAKE US AWAY FROM
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THAT GOAL.

IT IS NOT EASY TO CONDUCT THIS DIALOGUE. WHY? THIS IS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE PERIOD OF ITS DEVELOPMENT IN WHICH THE COMMUNITY FINDS ITSELF. IT IS NOT YET, IN FACT, A POLITICAL UNITY BUT IS MERELY MOVING IN THIS DIRECTION AND WE MUST UNDERSTAND THAT AT THIS STAGE THE UNITED STATES WOULD BE HESITANT TO CARRY ON THE DIALOGUE WITH A SINGLE PARTNER; FOR AS LONG AS WE ARE NOT A SINGLE ENTITY. SUCH A PARTNER WOULD BE THE SPOKESMAN OF A BLOC. THEREFORE, IT IS WISE AT THIS PARTICULAR STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT TO CHOOSE A PROCEDURE FOR THE DIALOGUE BY WHICH WE ARE DEVELOPING A COMMON POSITION WHICH WOULD THEN BE PRESENTED TO THE UNITED STATES THROUGH AN APPROPRIATE SPOKESMAN. THIS PROCEDURE SHOULD AT THE SAME TIME MAKE POSSIBLE BILATERAL CONTACTS BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY.

QUESTION: MR. CARSTENS, CHIEF OF THE OPPOSITION IN PARLIAMENT,
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HAS JUST CALLED ON THE NINE TO COORDINATE THEIR POLICY TOWARDS THE EAST, INCLUDING THEIR DEFENSE POLICY. DO YOU AGREE WITH THIS AND IN YOUR VIEW, WHAT COULD BE DONE IN THIS FIELD?
IN PARTICULAR, WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF CREATING A FRANCO-BRITISH NUCLEAR FORCE OR AT LEAST, FRANCO-BRITISH COOPERATION

IN THE NUCLEAR FIELD? WHAT WOULD BE THE ROLE OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC IN THIS CASE?

ANSWER: I HAVE ALREADY SAID THAT WE HAVE ALWAYS CONSIDERED OUR POLICY TOWARDS EASTERN EUROPE AS AN ELEMENT OF THE COMMON POLICY OF WESTERN EUROPE. WE SHOULD BE VERY HAPPY IF THIS POLICY OF WESTERN EUROPE TOWARDS THE EAST COULD BE MADE THE OBJECTIVE OF EVEN GREATER COORDINATION. IN THE FIRST PHASE OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION, COORDINATION PROVED ITSELF.

SECURITY AND SOVEREIGNTY GO TOGETHER. THAT IS WHERE THE PROBLEM LIES IN THE MATTER OF COOPERATION IN THE FIELD OF NUCLEAR ARMAMENTS. NOT ONLY IN SITUATIONS WHERE ONE MUST DEFEND ONESELF, BUT WELL BEFORE THAT, DURING THE STAGE OF RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, OR THE CREATION OF JOINT UNITS. YOU WILL RECALL THAT PHANTOM FLEET OF NATO, THE SO-CALLED MULTILATERAL FORCE, WHICH NEVER SAW THE LIGHT OF DAY.

BEFORE REFLECTING ON THE QUESTION OF AN INDEPENDENT WEST EUROPEAN NUCLEAR DETERRENT, WE MUST BEGIN BY STUDYING THE PROBLEM OF DECISION-MAKING POWER. THIS APPLIES NOT ONLY TO FRANCO-BRITISH RELATIONS, BUT ALL OF WESTERN EUROPE.

AND ANOTHER THING: WE ARE ALL RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SECURITY OF WESTERN EUROPE. CANDOR COMPELS US TO SAY IT CLEARLY: WITHOUT THE NUCLEAR UMBRELLA OF THE UNITED STATES THERE IS NO SECURITY FOR WESTERN EUROPE. THE EUROPEANS WOULD BE THROWING DUST IN THEIR EYES IF THEY BASED THEIR ATTITUDE ON ANY OTHER CONCEPTION. TECHNOLOGICAL REALITY AS SEEN IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND PROPULSION AND GUIDANCE SYSTEMS DEMONSTRATES CLEARLY THAT IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE THE GAP BETWEEN THE WORLD POWERS AND WESTERN EUROPE WILL BECOME GREATER RATHER THAN SMALLER. AS FOR THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY ITSELF, IT HAS RENOUNCED NUCLEAR WEAPONS WITHIN THE LIMITS OF ITS SOVEREIGNTY. QUESTION: THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT FEARS THAT AN EVENTUAL AGREEMENT ON THE REDUCTION OF FORCES WILL LEAD TO THE CREATION OF A MORE-OR-LESS NEUTRALIZED ZONE IN CENTRAL EUROPE. DO YOU SHARE THIS FEAR?

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ANSWER: IT IS IN THE NATURE OF THE PROCESS OF EUROPEAN DETENTE THAT ONE SEEKS TO REDUCE THE RISK OF A MILITARY CONFRONTATION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. THE MUTUAL AND BALANCED REDUCTION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS CONSTITUTES A MEANS TO THIS END. IN THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN CAREFULLY PREPARED WITHIN THE WESTERN ALLIANCE, WE ARE SEEKING TO MAKE PROGRESS ON THIS ROAD. FOR THE WESTERN ALLIANCE THERE COULD ONLY BE A GRADUAL PROCESS SUBJECT TO CONTROL AT EACH STAGE WHICH WOULD NOT WEAKEN THE STRUCTURE OF GENERAL SECURITY BUT WOULD STRENGTHEN IT. WE ARE ONLY AT THE BEGINNING AND WE DO NOT YET KNOW IF WE SHALL SUCCEED IN ACHIEVING THIS OBJECTIVE.

IT IS PERFECTLY NATURAL THAT ONE BEGINS IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE REGION WHERE THERE IS THE GREATEST CONCENTRATION OF TROOPS AND WEAPONS BELONGING PRIMARILY TO THE TWO WORLD POWERS. HOWEVER, THAT DOES NOT MEAN THAT IT IS INTENDED TO NEUTRALIZE A ZONE IN CENTRAL EUROPE. THE SECURITY OF THE ALLIANCE IS INDIVISIBLE. ONE CANNOT SEPARATE CERTAIN REGIONS FROM THE WHOLE WITHOUT PUTTING THE WHOLE IN DANGER.

THE ALLIANCE FINDS ITSELF TODAY ON THE EVE OF A PROCESS OF LONG NEGOTIATIONS. IT CANNOT GO FORWARD ON THIS ROAD UNLESS IT MAINTAINS ITS SOLIDARITY AND INSURES AT EACH STEP OF THE WAY THAT ITS SECURITY IS GUARANTEED. STONE

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